ANNA LOUISE STRONG'S ANALYSIS: 'THE HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY' . . . . PAGE 6

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The Middle East 'Doctrine'

Ike's blank check for $$ and troops

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

THE SO-CALLED "Eisenhower Doctrine" for the Middle East, outlined by the President to Congress Jan. 5, proved to be neither a policy, a program nor a doctrine, but a demand for a blank check to use U. S. dollars and military forces at will in that area. The President's address, moreover, gave little indication as to how, when and to what purposes the dollars, arms and soldiers would be used.

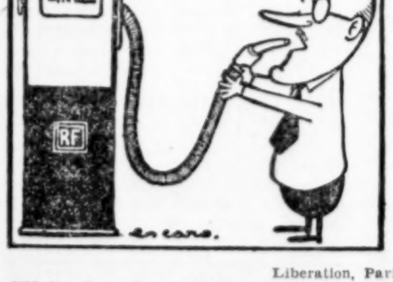
The Administration's move obviously aims (1) to cash in on the prestige won by Washington among the Asian and African nations by its flexible and coldly realistic policy during the Suez crisis; and (2) at the same time to take advantage of the U.S.S.R.'s difficulties in Eastern Europe to complete—and draw tighter—its military encirclement of the socialist world. The plan would authorize use of U.S. armed forces under certain vaguely defined circumstances in a politically unstable area bordering for 2,000 miles on the Soviet frontier.

REACTION IN AREA: Speculation as to why the Administration had revealed its hand so soon was rife at the UN and in Washington embassies. For reaction from Arab and Asian countries showed clearly that this move threatens to lose for the U.S. its newly-won prestige and to alienate the very neutrals it has been courting. From Lebanon, probably the most pro-West of Arab nations, the N. Y. **Times** reported (1/6) that the plan "has aroused resentment and mistrust throughout the area." India's "dismay" and "anxiety" was revealed by the London **Daily Telegraph** (1/2). The Hindustan **Standard** said the doctrine "struck at the root of the Nehru-Eisenhower understanding." It is difficult to believe this reaction was wholly unexpected even in Washington.

Some UN diplomats thought that the proclamation of a "doctrine" at this time might be, in part, the result of internal pressures; they cited the sharp attacks on Secy. Dulles by a substantial part of the pro-Eisenhower press (including the Hearst and Scripps Howard chains). These attacks, including demands for Dulles' replacement, have been based not on his "brink-of-war" statesmanship but on his alleged "appeasement" policy and his failure to get tough enough with the U.S.S.R. over Hungary and with Nasser over Suez.

The Eisenhower plan, Stewart Alsop pointed out (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 1/4), "is not motivated by any real belief that the Soviets are planning an armed invasion of the Middle East. The resolution is intended instead, to quote one of those present at the White House briefing, 'to tell the world and especially the Russians

(Continued on Page 9)



Liberation, Paris

"Hello America, this is Mollet. Don't cut me off. . . ."

. . . but who's going to fill the brainpower vacuum in Washington?

The Katzenjammer Kids are back in the nation's capital, playing fast and loose with our future over the "power vacuum" in the Middle East. Having a whale of a laugh over the situation are (l. to r.) Sen. Wiley (R-Wis.), Secy. Dulles and Sen. Green (D-R.I.). For what you can do, see Report to Readers, p 2.

'LIBERAL REVOLT' TURNS INTO A DRESS PARADE

The civil rights sell-out in Congress

By Lawrence Emery

NORTHERN and Western Senators of both parties who are described as liberal made a great to-do in the weeks before the 85th Congress convened about the fight they planned to wage against the filibuster. But as the showdown neared, they gave up the battle before it could begin. By prearrangement and advance agreement with the majority and minority leaders in the Senate, the liberal bloc insured its own defeat with only a token show—for the record—of its support for civil rights legislation.

When the final vote came on Jan. 4, 28 Republicans joined 27 Democrats, mostly Southerners, to maintain the filibuster. Those favoring a change in Senate rules to limit debate consisted of 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans for a tally of 55 to 38. The liberals, despite their agreement not to fight, claimed a moral victory because they got 17 more votes than they did in January, 1953. In that year an identical motion was defeated 70 to 21. But it was a politicians' victory and did nothing to advance the cause of Negro freedom in 1957.

EVERYBODY HAPPY: On Jan. 2, the day before Congress opened, the liberals held a strategy meeting, selected Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.) to lead them, and picked a committee of six to confer with Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.), Minority Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) and Vice-President Nixon. Anderson explained that his coalition wanted an advance agreement on procedure "so that there won't have to be wrangling." The committee didn't get to see Nixon, but Johnson obligingly worked out a formula to save face all around and make everybody happy.

It was agreed that Anderson would be recognized to move that the Senate change its rules "under the Constitution." Johnson himself obligingly offered to move to table that motion (which would kill it), relieving the Republicans of that politically-charged chore (In 1953, the late Sen. Robert A Taft, Mr. Republican himself, made the motion to table). Then, by unanimous consent, the Senate would debate the question for six hours, giving speakers on each side reasonable time to compile a record for their constituents. This procedure also relieved Nixon, as presiding officer, of the need to make a ruling that could be debated. The result was foreordained.

THE LINE FORMS: The N.Y. **Times'** senior Washington man, Arthur Krock, said the Johnson formula "transformed a loudly advertised battle into a dress parade." The **Times** news report said that "the Senate arranged today for the orderly burial tomorrow of a bi-partisan move for an effective curb on filibusters" and said the move "was doomed to failure at the start." When the results were in, the **Times** reported that "as prearranged by the leadership of both parties, the Senate of the United States turned down the one and only opportunity it will have at this session to make a serious fight against the rules that give to the threat of filibuster its potency . . . Minority Leader Knowland happily joined Mr. Johnson in the scheme to insure that there would be only a formal fight."

If anything, the Republicans came off

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THE MAIL BAG

Wishful forecast

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Many happy new years
I forecast—
If we make peace first
And make peace last.

L.G.

The Dulles Doctrine

CIRCLE, MONT.

The prospects for a Happy New Year have been greatly lessened by the declaration of the Dulles Doctrine. To call it a new foreign policy is misleading. That the use of force to impose foreign domination is new, even to these United States, is to forget past history; but it is true that we have used economic domination most and refrained from annexing territory, even when we found it necessary to use our armed forces to establish a favorable regime.

We have everything to lose and nothing to gain by such a policy in this modern age. The power vacuum that Dulles and diplomats of the old school visualize no longer really exists. It is a sorry excuse for domination by armed force to claim that we only do it to prevent Russia from moving in.

That socialism can be expected to become more widely accepted is true. That Russia's military might must determine this choice is the deliberate bugaboo of those who would hold back the clock of history and progress. Such an attempt to stop the progress of socialism must fail and can easily lead to world conflict. We shall find few allies and a great many enemies when the chips are down.

No people are more ignorant of the fundamental issues involved in the world's troubles than our own American people. The ignorance has been fostered very deliberately, and the dissent so essential to democratic understanding has been labelled "subversion" so effectively, that the whole foreign policy picture is shrouded in a mythical fog. This is the true payoff of McCarthyism.

Hobart McKean

Cardinal error

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The one important fact missing from the discussion of **Baby Doll** was that Cardinal Spellman denounced the film without having seen it.

Thomas Grabell

The rural areas

BRAINERD, MINN.

Sympathy for the Hungarians is not deep here in rural areas. People talk about their being too well-dressed to look like refugees; or they talk about the need for helping poor people here at home; or they figure it is some kind of "Popish plot" to get all of these refugees here. There was a proposal to convert an Indian School into a Hungarian College, but they brought forth protests from people interested in keeping alive vestiges of Indian culture.

People in rural areas are being hit increasingly hard by this farm depression and they just don't see a lot of this foreign spending.

They tend to vote against taxing themselves for schools, roads, and other local improvements as well as being against bailing the British and French out of their blunders.

Farmers who are resentful of the undemocratic treatment they get from Ezra Benson are not impressed with appeals to oppose dictatorship abroad. First, they want to get rid of dictator Benson who is leading them by the nose through the wringer of bankruptcy. In Minnesota and the Dakotas, Benson took a real beating in the recent corn referendum. Some precincts voted zero to 50 or zero to 60 against Ezra. The Dems. really missed the boat here in November on the farm issue. Stevenson failed to seem sincere . . . and then Stevenson's support for the Suez action of the British and French also hurt.

Farm Friend

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

NOTICE—I will pay $200.00 dollars reward for conviction of any thief or communist stealing my unmarked or marked hogs, marked over slope, underbit one ear upper hack the other. — W. G. Grabeel, Wright City, Okla.

McCurtain Gazette,
Idabel, Okla., Dec. 26

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: R. F. Keaney, Mena, Ark. Be sure to send original clip with date.

Dakota plain talk

BERGEN, N.D.

I am a small farmer and doubt very much that I can survive four more years of price-flexing Eisenhower. The failure of the Democrats from North Dakota to win in the election was due to their lack of emphasis on a minimum wage and a lack of stress on the need to repeal the right to work (for nothing) law in our state. In my opinion the weakness of the national Democratic ticket was the lack of civil rights plank and a failure to repudiate the Dixiecrats.

From here it looked as if the Hungarian and Suez crises were planned and timed to give Eisenhower a boost for the Presidency. It is a peculiar thing that Washington, D.C., is so concerned about the welfare of the Hungarians when at the same time our government carries out policies which are driving a thousand farmers a year off their land in North Dakota. Probably the Hungarians are worth more in keeping the cold war going, thus giving the corporations their big profits and us little guys the high taxes.

William Moxness

Steppe forward

PUEBLO, COLO.

Objective thinking triumphs! I attended my daughter's Junior High School combination orchestra recital and Xmas program and listened to a score of compositions. One of these, "The Cossack Rebel," was apologized for because of its Russian composer! The music teacher justified playing it by pointing out that the composer was persecuted by the Stalin regime!

Following this line of thought, Anna Louise Strong will of course be allowed to release her books to, and lecture in, our public schools! I've read Miss Strong's **The Stalin Era.** It was wonderful!

Paul Stewart

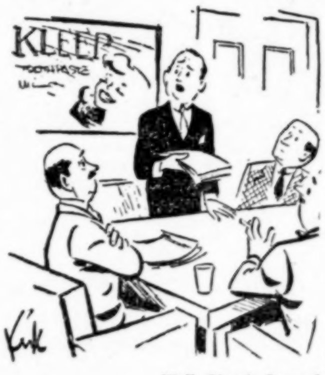
Qualitative difference

SPOKANE, WASH.

Can anyone see the difference between the Hungarian government asking for Russian military aid and Chiang Kai-shek asking for American? The only difference I can see is that one was called to defend socialism, while the other was called to defend corrupt, decaying capitalism.

The attack on Egypt is just another case of imperialism and capitalism forcing itself on the unwilling people. Capitalism has demonstrated clearly and unmistakably, as in the case of British Guiana, Guatemala, Spain, Germany, etc., that it will not hesitate to use force wherever and whenever its right to rule is rejected.

L. Ponton



Wall Street Journal

". . . about that fifty thousand dollar survey comparing our product with other brands . . . for another twenty thousand dollars I think we can have it suppressed."

Meanwhile, down South . . .

E. PALATKA, FLA.

Tidbits for the historian of our times:

- A bill was introduced at the last session of the Florida legislature making it a crime for a Negro to cut a white man's hair or vice versa.
- No Negro is allowed to spend the night in Demorest, Ga. At the approaches to the town are large signs, "Demorest, the Friendly City."
- A Negro clerk was sent to take a Veteran's Administration job in an Alabama town. Came Sunday, he went to the Methodist church. He was asked to leave. The following Sunday he went to the Baptist church but was not allowed to enter. The third Sunday, three Presbyterians sat in an auto in front of their church with shotguns, but the unwelcome worshipper did not show up.

Frederick A. Blossom

Thanks to both

ROSEMEAD, CALIF.

Not too long ago we wrote you that we expected a gift, sort of, from someone who felt he owed us an obligation. Well we received the gift and as promised, are sending the greatest part of it ($35) to the GUARDIAN.

Let it be a New Year's present with the hope that it will help make 1957 a very significant year in the march towards peace, progress and socialism.

Dorothy & Aaron Braude

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the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 9, No. 13 401 January 14, 1957

THE 'EISENHOWER DOCTRINE'

Write your 'No'!

AT THE START OF JANUARY, 1955, we said a full-page mouthful about the importance of starting then to rebuild the forces of independent political action for the 1956 campaign and after.

Reading over that article (GUARDIAN, Jan. 10/55) in the light of the two years since elapsed, it seems that we probably were never righter on any issue—and certainly never got worse results!

We warned then that unless progressives got together and did something about it, the political argument of '56 would be conducted between two camps of reaction, with the American left-of-center "effectively and perhaps finally silenced in the fight against fascism and war."

STOP, LOOK, LISTEN: Have you heard a single voice of principled opposition to the Eisenhower-Dulles Middle East proposals? Is it not the most ironic of ironies that campaign pressure by the Democrats against Republican "appeasement" should be an underlying reason (see Tabitha Petran, p. 1) for the emergence of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" as the first, prefatory act of the 1957 Republican Administration?

In our 1955 "Call for independent political action" we made this observation:

"If the concept of peaceful coexistence is before the American people in any guise at all, it rests on the bipartisan condition that any movement by people anywhere to control their own destinies is on its face 'Soviet aggression' and provocation enough for military intervention including atomic attack."

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, this is today's "Eisenhower Doctrine" in all its main essentials, with the Middle East as Target No. 1. The Marines are already in the area, with atomic warheads. Where are the voices of the Democrats elected with progressive support? Where are the protests of that progressive support?

Have you given your Congressman the benefit of your thinking on the matter?

Of course, we think you should and must—even though no organization exists to print the postcards, phrase the telegrams, collect the signatures. If every GUARDIAN reader hits his or her Congressman and Senators with a protest (copy to Ike, too), bipartisan Washington could be blitzed with several thousand blasts—enough to show at least that there's life in the U. S. peace movement yet, coalition or no.

—THE GUARDIAN

Spanish Refugee Aid

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Eighteen years ago, 160,000 Spanish Republican refugees crossed the Pyrenees, fleeing to France from Franco's army and Hitler's and Mussolini's "volunteers." On March 29, 1939, the Spanish Civil War was ended; on April 1, 1939, the U.S. accorded to Franco full diplomatic recognition. Nobody in the free world, except France, cared to help the innocent victims of fascism.

The Spanish Refugee Aid, under the honorary chairmanship of Pablo Casals, the cellist, and Lazaro Cardenas, former president of Mexico, try to help as much as possible the non-Communist refugees (the tiny Red minority is cared for by Communist organizations) shamefully neglected by the democracies. They have a pitiful $25,000 a year to spend in cash and goods—$10 a month for the neediest families, $1.50 a month for single men in hospitals.

We have spent up to now more than $30 million for the Hungarians who never revolted during the 15 years they were under fascist leadership, who were the only European allies of Nazi Germany and Italy, who went to war with Hitler against the Soviet Union, who exterminated more than 600,000 Jews. But we have forgotten our debt to the Spanish refugees, to the veterans of the first war against fascism.

Send any amount to the Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., 80 E. 11th St., New York 3, N. Y.

John H. Beck

Uneven-handed justice

WILMINGTON, DEL.

I don't understand why some people consider it so wrong when a man steals a loaf of bread for his starving children. He is given a jail sentence. On the other hand, a young man steals an aeroplane and (if it's a MIG) is given several thousand dollars by the government officials, given high praise, received as an honor student at one of our leading colleges.

All Confused

Torch of freedom

NEW YORK, N.Y.

You can count on my continued help for the GUARDIAN. It has been a privilege. In sending my humble contribution, I joined many others anxious to keep the torch of freedom burning as long as it will be needed. A very happy New Year in a world at peace.

Mrs. Y. Messiaian

THE WORTHY INCIDENT

State Dept. ban on U.S. newsmen in China is widely condemned

THE N.Y. NEWSPAPER GUILD on Dec. 31 strongly defended the right of the Baltimore **Afro-American** correspondent William Worthy and **Look**'s Edmund Stevens and photographer Phil Harrington to visit China.

The union's statement said the men were acting within the constitution of the Guild "to guarantee as far as it is able constant honesty in the news, to raise the standards of journalism and ethics of the industry." Criticising the State Dept. for revoking the correspondents' passports, the Guild declared that the department might caution newsmen about their safety in areas not covered by passports, but to forbid them to enter such areas was a restriction of "free democratic reporting."

NO LAW AGAINST TRAVEL: William Dwight, publisher of the Holyoke (Mass.) **Transcript** and president of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn., speaking for himself, said he always felt "we made a mistake in banning reporters from going to Red China . . . Surely it's a good thing for experienced American reporters to find out what's going on in Red China."

The American Society of Newspaper Editors was conducting a mail poll through its president, the Tulsa (Okla.) **Tribune** editor, Jenkins Lloyd Jones, before issuing any statement.

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** which last August had protested "strongly against the unwisdom . . . of the American State Dept. to deprive the American people of fatcs which they are entitled to know," entered another protest "against the ruling itself and against the methods being taken to make it effective" (1/5). It found the arguments against the State Dept.'s ban "overwhelming," and declared that "the only sufferers will be the newspapermen thmeselves, the American people and the cause of a free press."

HUMPHREY'S COMMENT: Calling the State Dept.'s action "incredibly shortsighted," Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) said on Jan. 4 that "qualified, recognized American newsmen should be encouraged rather than discouraged from going to any part of the world to bring us unbiased information."

Attorney Leonard B. Boudin said in a letter to the N.Y **Times** (1/1) that revocation of the correspondents' passports "raises important questions of law and public policy." Boudin, who has represented many American citizens who have been denied passports, declared that "no statute, executive order or departmental regulation makes it unlawful to visit China or any other country."

CENSORSHIP: According to Boudin, "travel to a country excluded from one's passport" does not violate passport provisions. He referred to the State Dept.'s Press Release of May 1, 1952, which said that the department was "stamping all passports not valid for travel in [Iron Curtain] countries." The press release had added: "In making this announcement the department emphasized that this procedure in no way forbids American travel to these areas."

Boudin said in two cases "the Federal courts held that the revocation of passports without hearings violated the due process clause of the Constitution." He held that forbidding newsmen "to see for themselves is no less censorship than to proscribe or punish their writings."

AFRO BACKS HIM: The **Afro-American** (1/5) editorially supported Worthy's trip to China. It said that, in the affidavit he had signed for U.S. officials, absolving the paper of responsibility for his safety in China, Worthy had declared that he believed his first-hand report from China "to the American people, through whatever channels become available to me in the course of my professional activities, will be beneficial."

In his first broadcast from China for CBS, Worthy reported the possibility of some American prisoners in China being released when Premier Chou En-lai returned home from his current tour of Southeast Asia and the Soviet Union.

WILLIAM WORTHY
In Hong Kong Christmas Eve

NEW NAIL IN COFFIN

Wide effect seen in Florida edict on jimcrow buses

By Eugene Gordon

FEDERAL District Judge Emett Choate on Jan. 3 declared that Florida and Miami jimcrow bus segregation laws were unconstitutional. His oral opinion—which he said he would put into writing if necessary—was based on the U.S. Supreme Court's affirmation on Nov. 13 of a Federal Court ruling in Montgomery last June 5. The June ruling, by Alabama-born judges, was that the state's segregation laws "violate the due process and equal protection clauses of the 14th Amendment" (GUARDIAN, 11/26/56). Miami's transit company announced that its passengers would ride unsegregated hereafter.

Miami NAACP attorney G. E. Graves said that although Judge Choate's opinion applied specifically to buses, "it has a more far-reaching effect [and] can be extended to [intrastate] trains and to suburban and interurban buses." Dr. A. Joseph Reddick, Methodist minister and Florida NAACP president, said the Negroes' main concern in Miami "has been to remove the [jimcrow] statutes from the books" rather than to challenge the law by integrating themselves on the buses.

CONSTITUTION VIOLATED: Last Oct. 12 the NAACP sued the company, the City of Miami and members of the City Commission. Four Negroes were plaintiffs. Judge Choate's opinion, issued on the defendants' motion to dismiss, upheld the plaintiffs' argument that their rights under the 14th Amendment were violated.

Florida Gov. Collins, however, said he believed the opinion would not affect the situation in Tallahassee, the state capital. There, early on New Year's Day, he proclaimed a state of emergency and ordered all buses stopped until further notice. U.S. Judge Devane had previously granted the company a temporary restraining order barring city interference with integration. Tallahassee Negroes ended their seven months boycott on Nov. 21.

Following is a summary of the bus-integration fight on other fronts:

JUDGE EMMETT C. CHOATE
He made the Florida ruling

BATON ROUGE, La.: Despite police warning that they would continue enforcing segregation, Negro ministers planned to urge members of their churches to ignore jimcrow signs on buses.

BIRMINGHAM: Twenty-two members of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights were arrested for ignoring bus jimcrow signs. Attorney Arthur Shores said he would ask the Federal Court, after trial on Feb. 11, to declare transportation jimcrow laws null and void. That was before Judge Choate's Florida declaration.

MONTGOMERY: The City Commission on Jan. 2 extended its curfew on bus operations for a week after five shooting incidents, one of which resulted in the wounding of a Negro woman. The Commission approved a $60,000 appropriation for hiring additional policemen. Circulars aimed at discrediting Montgomery Improvement Assn. president Martin Luther King Jr. appeared in Negro neighborhoods for the second time. They urged that the "boycott" leader be run "out of town." He said it was a futile effort "to divide the Negro people."

MOBILE: The company removed jimcrow signs from all city buses on Jan. 2. Leading Negroes had written to the City Commission asking that segregated seating be ended. The Commission ordered the signs replaced but the company seemed inclined to disobey.

NASHVILLE: The city's legal counsel ruled that city and state segregation laws were no longer valid. The city-owned bus lines were expected to begin integrating at once.

TEACHER LOSES TOO

Sacher conviction in contempt case upheld on appeal

THE FEDERAL COURT of Appeals in Washington on Jan. 3 upheld the contempt of Congress convictions of attorney Harry Sacher and former Vassar College instructor Lloyd Barenblatt.

Sacher has been continuously harassed by the Federal government since he participated in the defense of 11 Communist Party leaders in 1949. He served a six-month jail sentence in 1952 for contempt and was later disbarred from practice in the Federal Court for New York's Southern District. The Supreme Court set aside the disbarment in April, 1954, as excessive punishment.

A year later, before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, Sacher refused to answer questions about his personal beliefs. He invoked the First Amendment. In declining to answer, he said it would be "inconsistent with the dignity of any man to be compelled to disclose his political, religious, economic, social or any other views." He was sentenced to six months in jail and fined $1,000.

His appeal stressed that his possible membership in the CP was not relevant to the subcommittee's inquiry and that, if pertinent, the questions violated his rights under the First Amendment. The argument was rejected by the three-man Court of Appeals.

TEST ON TEACHERS: Barenblatt had appealed against a six-month jail sentence and a $250 fine imposed last March by Federal District Court Judge Alexander Holtzoff, who had also passed sentence on Harry Sacher. Barenblatt had refused to answer questions of Congressional committees regarding Communist Party membership—not on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment but on the grounds that Congress could not inquire into the field of education.

Sacher was represented by attorneys Hubert T. Delany, former justice of the Domestic Relations Court in New York City, and David Rein of Washington. Rein and David Scribner of New York represented Barenblatt.

Lawyers for both defendants said the verdict in each case would be appealed to the Supreme Court. The appeal in the Barenblatt case would provide a high court test of the power of Congress to investigate teachers. Barenblatt's lawyers have contended that the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution deprived Congress of the right to legislate in the field of education. The Tenth Amendment reserves "to the States" or "to the people" powers "not delegated to the U.S. by the Constitution."

THE SHEINER CASE: Attorneys for Leo Sheiner, Miami lawyer disbarred on testimony of Joseph Mazzei, an officially-discredited government witness, have filed a motion with the Florida Supreme Court seeking reversal of the disbarment proceeding and reinstatement of Sheiner as a member of the Florida bar.

Mazzei's testimony against Sheiner in Miami last July caused the U.S. solfcitor-general to ask the Supreme Court in October to send the Pittsburgh Smith Act cases back to the Court of Appeals, since the original convictions in 1953 had rested heavily on Mazzei's testimony.

Of Mazzei's Florida testimony last July, Solicitor-General J. Lee Rankin told the Court:

"None of this testimony . . . is supported or corroborated by information in the possession of the Government."

Instead of granting Rankin's request, the Supreme Court reversed the Pittsburgh convictions with the statement by Chief Justice Warren that "Mazzei by his testimony, has poisoned the water in this reservoir, and the reservoir cannot be cleansed without draining it of all impurity."

In Miami Dec. 19 the Florida state attorney asked the state Supreme Court to send Sheiner's disbarment back to the original court. Sheiner's attorneys demanded instead outright reversal, following the U.S. Supreme Court precedent. The Florida court has not yet rendered a decision.

AN INTERVIEW WITH ERIC HASS

How the socialists fared Nov. 6

SOCIALISM was written on the emblem of three parties in last November's elections: Socialist Labor, Socialist Workers and Socialist. Their combined tally could scarcely measure the support for socialism in the U.S., since most states barred minority parties from the ballot or put enormous obstacles in the way. In addition, many voters who hold to socialism as an objective followed other roads than the three parties who carried the flag.

In the cold figures of the tally, however, socialism ranked a little above prohibition as a minority cause, far below that of States Rights. More significantly, the election returns established the 69-year old Socialist Labor Party as by far the strongest campaigner for out-and-out socialism. Though on the ballot in only 14 states and off it in SLP's strongholds—New York, Michigan, Ohio and California—Eric Hass of the SLP polled an all-time high of 44,368. Farrell Dobbs of the Socialist Workers Party received 7,805 and Darlington Hoopes of the once powerful Socialist Party hit bottom with 2,192; each was on the ballot in four states. They had made a bid for ballot status in two other states but were ruled off.

"NO MASS AWAKENING": The Socialist Labor Party was serene as the final returns came in—two months after the election. Eric Hass sat in his narrow office which allows for only one large and cluttered desk, a chair for himself and one folding chair which had to be folded if the door was to open more than a crack. On the wall was a print of Lincoln and an oil painting of the party's founder Daniel DeLeon.

Hass said quietly: "If we had received one fourth that vote or one third or even less we would not have been disappointed . . . The votes cast for as uncompromisingly revolutionary a program as ours do not mean much . . . It does not indicate a mass awakening." He was gratified at the pre-eminent place achieved by SLP, "a status we believe we deserve."

SLP occupies one floor of a loft building at 61 Cliff St., near the Fulton Fish Market in lower Manhattan. It has one linotype machine and a press purchased second-hand in 1914, which turns out the party's **Weekly People** (circulation 10,000) and a constant stream of leaflets and pamphlets. Hass said he was glad the press was no larger for then it would have to stand idle or take in commercial work which is alien to the spirit of SLP. The **Weekly People** seeks no advertising and would tolerate none.

ERIC HASS
Top Socialist vote-getter

WHEN THE LIGHT CAME: Hass once sold advertising and worked as a reporter and free-lance editor of puff sheets, but he dates the beginning of his life from the time the "light of socialism came into it." He had examined all schools of socialism and settled down in the SLP in 1927. He took a temporary job for the party in California in 1933 and has been with it full-time ever since. In 1940 he was elected to his present post as editor of the party's paper and has been re-elected every four years since then (by convention and referendum).

At 51 he is a studious, hard-working, intensely earnest man who is happy in his mission. He says he is "very much married" and has been so for 27 years.

Editor Hass reflects his own sense of mission in "The Party Stand," a running box on the editorial page of the **Weekly People**: "The SLP never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy. In firm assurance of final victory, it pursues its course unswerved by weak desire for temporary advantage."

CONGRESS OF WORKERS: No one can recall a moment in which SLP swerved since 1890. In a recent pamphlet on automation, Hass and his collaborator Stephen Emery wrote: "Being a scientific concept, Socialist Industrial Unionism remains fully as valid as when first enunciated."

Two world wars, the coming of the atomic age, the revolutions in the Soviet Union and China, automation and the rise of the colonial world have not made any amendments necessary to the original doctrine of Marx and Daniel DeLeon calling for a socialism controlled by workers, with no political apparatus beyond that of a congress of representatives sent by the workers from their shops and industries.

All other forms of socialism in the world departing from these bases must end in bureaucratic rule, says the SLP. All parties and movements which do not at all times hammer home the cardinal truths about capitalism and industrial union socialism are frauds and distractions. That goes for other left-wing groups, for the Progressive Party and for the labor movement.

REAL EMANCIPATION: Hass said: "Our members join trade unions only when compelled to in order to keep their jobs." The AFL-CIO merger is only "unity of the bureaucrats," he said. The rank-and-file will gain nothing and the new merger will founder. SLP members take part in struggles for wage raises but insist that workers, by joining existing unions, tie themselves to "labor lieutenants of capitalism." No matter what gains labor makes in wages or working conditions, they are no closer to emancipation, he says, until they realize the necessity and practicability of winning socialism, primarily by the ballot.

In the last election Hass took the party's "rigidly Marxist program" on a 22,000-mile speaking tour. He found signs of the "abandonment of the reluctance to talk" and the barest "incipient beginning of thinking on the part of young people." The party ran seven full-page ads in big-city dailies and a series of lively TV and radio shows—all concentrating on socialism, undetracted by lesser objectives. The money came from members and sympathizers who freely list their names and donations in the pages of the **Weekly People.**

7,000 INQUIRIES: The underground has no attraction for the SLP. At the height of McCarthyism when many felt it necessary to become anonymous and all the Left suffered, the SLP gained, said Hass. There have been some reprisals against members, but not many. In any case, he said, SLP members make it a point openly to proclaim all they feel and think.

The party received 7,000 inquiries as a result of the campaign and these Hass considered more significant than the votes. As for "unity on the left" Hass said the SLP would like to see a larger movement with the same objectives but would have no truck with those "radicals who like to have a good time together." The party is undismayed by small gains in 69 years. It would be fine to reach millions, said Hass, but useless "if it were only to take them down a blind alley." Things will happen, he said, when historic forces make the "mass mind" more receptive.

A SERENE FAITH: Hass recalled that a reporter once asked him whether any prominent people were in the SLP or had ever been. Hass said such people shunned the SLP because "here is an organization of workingmen who know more than they do and prominent persons find that devastating."

On all fronts the SLP maintains the serenity of faith. They greet the victory of the Negroes in Montgomery, but a headline of the **Weekly People** (1/5) reads: "Now Negroes Ride With Whites — But Where To?" The paper warns that when Negro workers achieve equality with whites it means only "equality in wage slavery."

In the loft on Cliff St. the long, long view predominates.

DUES FIGHT SET IT OFF

Revolt in the steel union: McDonald faces contest Feb. 12

WHEN PRESIDENT David J. McDonald opened the convention of the steel workers union in Los Angeles last September, he pledged that the organization would not go "soft" under his leadership. He referred indirectly to criticism in the ranks of the 1,200,000 members against his notions of "mutual trusteeship" with industry. The union, he said, would keep its "lean and hungry" youthful vigor.

But for himself personally, McDonald planned neither leanness nor hunger. Before the convention was over his salary was boosted from $40,000 to $50,000 a year, putting him on the very top layer of high-priced labor leaders. The union's two other executive officers were boosted from $25,000 to $35,000 a year. (AFL-CIO president George Meany gets $35,000; the United Auto Workers' Walter Reuther gets $18,000). At the same time, steel workers' dues were increased from $3 a month to $5.

FAST COUNT: At $40,000 McDonald hadn't been doing badly, and the union was far from poor: the international claimed reserves of more than $21,000,000 and the affiliated locals possessed assets of nearly $20,000,000. Many delegates thought neither the salary increase nor the dues boost justified, but opposition at the convention was overwhelmed. Critics charged that McDonald kept opponents from taking the floor, that the hall was packed with unaccredited representatives and staff personnel on the union payroll.

But the wrangle was sharp enough to force McDonald twice to the microphone to insist that he didn't want the raise, that it had no relation to the dues increase, and that in any case his extra $10,000 would mean "only a penny a year per man." The N.Y. **Times** reported: "The debates grew so bitter that Mr. McDonald repeatedly admonished the delegates not to boo. When the dues increase was put to a voice vote, the division was close enough to necessitate a show of hands. This still left the outcome obscure. Mr. McDonald then called on the unionists to record their sentiment by rising to their feet. He pronounced the increase approved by 'an overwhelming majority'." He refused all demands for a roll-call vote.

WON'T BE SQUELCHED: During October a rank-and-file Dues Protest Committee came into being in the mill-studded Monongahela Valley and began circulating a petition for a special convention to "evaluate the necessity of the dues increase" and "to amend the constitution to provide that any assessment must be submitted to the membership for approval." The union provides for a special convention on request of 25% of the locals; 700 of the some 2,700 locals could do the trick. The protest committee rented a post office box for copies of resolutions and petitions to make sure the international office gave an honest count.

The movement took hold rapidly in the Pittsburgh-McKeesport region, spread to other parts of the country. In the big Jones & Laughlin local where McDonald himself holds membership, the dissidents threatened to impeach the local president when he refused to accept their petition. There was trouble in other locals when union pay-rollers tried to squelch the protest.

DONALD C. RARICK (c.)
He's challenged the big man

By late October a dozen locals in the Pittsburgh area, including the biggest at the Homestead Works of U.S. Steel, had acted favorably on the special convention call. By late November the union's biggest local, in Gary, Ind., had joined the rebels.

McDONALD CHALLENGED: Until then the union officialdom had tried to cope with the protest by ignoring it. On Nov. 28 McDonald called the rank-and-file movement "illegal," denounced it as a "dual union" move, threatened disciplinary action up to expulsion for its leaders. Chief counsel Arthur Goldberg ruled that nothing in the union constitution permits a special convention to repeal an action of a regular convention.

But by then the rebellion had taken on a new dimension. Its leader, Donald C. Rarick, 37-year-old grievance committeeman of Local 2227 at the Irvin Works of U.S. Steel, decided to oppose McDonald for the presidency in the union's quadrennial referendum election on Feb. 12. W. L. Klug of Milwaukee was put up against secy.-treas. I. W. Abel. The dissidents also named candidates for several district directorships.

Rarick needed the nomination of 40 locals to get on the ballot; his move was violently opposed by the union administration, but by deadline time he had won the nomination of 91 locals. McDonald captured 1,905. Rarick declared that "the difference in the number of local nominations doesn't give a true picture" and added: "I am going to conduct a vigorous campaign."

Little is known of Rarick's views on problems other than the dues increase; one of his supporters backed off his slate with the charge that Rarick is for "soft" unionism. But the rebellion he has touched off indicates a growing restiveness in the union at the McDonald leadership, described by many as a "one-man rule." Although ousting such an entrenched administration is about as easy as overthrowing a government, the present rebellion may be big enough to bring about some basic changes.

In any case, this is the first time in the union's 20-year history that the top leaders have been challenged in a general election.

78 YEARS OF MILKING

The Cyprus hot potato — one long imperial bungle

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN HER CHRISTMAS radio talk to the British "family of nations", Queen Elizabeth (who still declines to appear on television screens and is represented there by a printed title held for 15 minutes) spoke of "deep and acute" disagreements among Commonwealth members. This was her only implied reference to the domestic and world-wide consequences of the Suez fiasco. She made no allusion to those branches of the "family" where, since they are held under colonial subjection by force, disagreement is a one-way ticket to one of Her Majesty's jails and concentration camps.

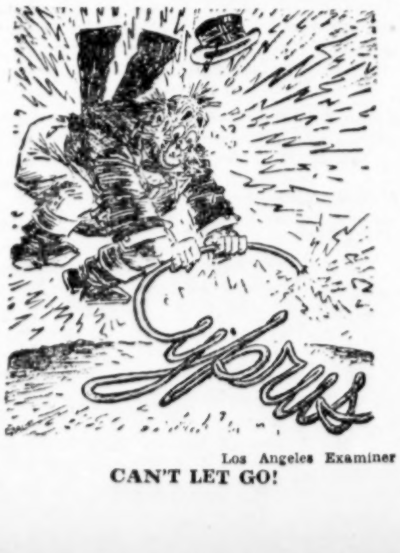
In face of a colonial turmoil far too advanced to be quieted by the burden-carriers' ancient mumbo-jumbo, Her Majesty's Government is making an unprecedented display of ineptitude in its dealings with the present hot potato, Cyprus. It is so appalling in this case that, as in the handling of the Suez affair, nearly all Britain's press including the **Times** is critical. Even Empire die-hards are uneasily conscious that Greek Cypriots are, after all, "white" and the inheritors of a civilzation some 2,500 years older than their own. Sometimes, too, they stir uneasily at the recollection that Greece was offered Cyprus in exchange for joining in World War I, and that in World War II 30,000 Cypriots joined the British army under the bait that they would be "fighting for Mother Greece, for Freedom."

LONG STORY: Yet like all other colonial peoples to date, the Cypriots could not move an inch toward freedom without mass physical resistance to the occupier and the sacrifice of a river of blood. Although their first national uprising was 25 years ago, the "Cyprus question" did not even come to the average Briton's attention until the EOKA resistance campaign began in 1955.

The ability of a large segment of Britons to convince themselves that it is a pleasure to be ruled by them remains one of the wonders of the world. What is this "imperialist exploitation" to which the Cypriots so noisily and ungratefully object?

In 78 years of British occupation, Cyprus has been systematically milked for tribute, its native industry throttled, governed by alien officials whom "native" taxpayers—multiplied by three while taxes multiplied by 85—must maintain in luxury. Since the British came, crop production and livestock have shown no increase. Agriculture, conducted by implements similar to those in use 3,000 years ago, is bedeviled by plant pests and diseases, soil erosion and lack of irrigation.

Workers (1946 census) get from 50c to $2 a day, have no social insurance or security; tens of thousands of families live without water or sanitation in single rooms or shanties made of old sacks, or under bridges. Jury trial has never been known, the British Governor is omnipotent, medical care is hopelessly inadequate, there is no fishing industry due to lack of safe harbors. The island's archaeological treasures—those that were not looted for British museums—suffer decay and destruction by neglect. The most prosperous activity is mining (British, Greek and U.S. owned) which was begun by the ancient Greeks.



Los Angeles Examiner

CAN'T LET GO!

THE GOOD LIFE: In this setting, Cypriots pay for the production of a government publication with pictures of the Governor and the Queen, of parading soldiers and arriving warships and officials receiving decorations, to remind them how good life is under British rule. Mass protest is their answer, and to that protest Britain's answer has been a 20,000 "security force", collective punishments and evictions, days-long 24-hour curfews, whipping of children and closing of schools for 50,000 of them, a ban on meetings, torture interrogations and concentration camps. To impose all this the heads of the family brought Sir John Harding, the general they had used to suppress "freedom fighters" in Kenya and Malaya, to Cyprus as Governor.

That the Greek government, which itself conducts a terror against free speech and concentration camps rivaling the Nazis', should be the Cypriots' champion in complaints to UN under the Human Rights Declaration seems to many a bitter jest. But the world is learning in earnest that nationalist feeling is far stronger than such considerations. Cypriots have no democratic power to influence the government which now oppresses them. They are too small a people to survive alone. They want immediate reunion ("Enosis") with their own people under any government which they might at least attempt to influence other than by acts of violence—and which, it may truly be said, they already have influenced considerably.

"PERFIDIOUS ALBION": Cypriots and democratic Greeks alike were concerned about the Greek government's sincerity on "Enosis" after the London **Times**, on Nov. 28, printed a "leak" story from its Athens correspondent. The story referred to "Greek leaders" who were willing not to press for Cyprus' self-determination but to make NATO "the arbiter of the time element" for it. They would agree, it was said, to a three-year moratorium on raising the issue at UN, and were "confident" that all this would be accepted by ousted Cypriot leader Archbishop Makarios. (The Greek opposition had already raised in parliament the question of whether Makarios "any longer represented the Cypriot people" and suggested that the true leader was EOKA's Digenis.)

Whatever the basis for this "leak", Britain's Tory government in the weeks before Christmas comfortably kept the lead in moves and proposals calculated to deepen Cypriot infuriation. Decrees were imposed widening penalties for resistance and the area of death sentences, removing fear of punishment from British troops acting illegally, and enabling the Governor to suppress newspapers at will.

BY ORDER OF HER MAJESTY'S ROYAL BURDEN CARRIERS
Inspection time on the island of Cyprus

In Parliament, Lords Listowel and Jowitt attacked the new regulations putting the press "absolutely at the government's mercy", and under which "a child of 12 could be sentenced to death". Forty-nine Labour and Liberal MP's put down a motion deploring the new "ruthless repression". Labour's **Daily Herald**, seeing the repression as in some ways worse than in Kenya, recalled that in the year of the milder "emergency regulations" killings in Cyprus had already risen 12 times despite measures including the flogging of boys under 14.

SANTA CLAUS: The big Christmas present for Cyprus was to be the Constitution drafted by Lord Radcliffe. Before it was published, the right-wing **Spectator** said that if the new penalties were enforced, it would "serve no other purpose than to ensure that the new Constitution is stillborn." The government was sufficiently concerned to modify some of its new regulations, and to release 25 of the 650 Cypriots held in concentration camps without charge or trial, on the day—Dec. 19—when the Radcliffe plan came out.

But the Constitution was stillborn anyway. It proposed an elected Assembly with minor powers, the Governor still to control external, military and "security" affairs. It did not mention the release of detainees and return of exiles, nor self-determination for which it made no provision "for or against". The Greek government could not but condemn it, especially Colonial Secy. Lennox Boyd's statement in Commons that any solution must recognize the possibility of partitioning Cyprus to ensure the welfare of the small Turkish minority. Of this, a Greek government spokesman told the London **News Chronicle**: "The idea is quite impossible in a small island like Cyprus. Only in India and Ireland has such a thing been tried, and in both cases it has resulted in a state of permanent war."

If ineptitude could go further, the Tories could be trusted to find the way. Within hours of the Radcliffe Constitution announcement, Athens had said it would press its appeal to UN; and in Cyprus' capital, Nicosia, there was a call for a general strike and a huge parade of school kids. The young Cypriots' banners said: "Down with the Constitution."

Two plus two makes nine

By Janusz Oseka

THE TEACHER told his pupils: "Note carefully, dear children, twice two makes nine." It was one of his last lessons, for he had just reached pensionable age.

After he had left the school, the other teachers were faced with an important problem: how should they go on teaching arithmetic if the children were left in the belief that twice two made nine?

After a short discussion, one of the teachers suggested that it would be a mistake to tell the children that the result of the sum was really quite different, in fact four. Such an abrupt change could leave psychological scars, it was claimed. It was therefore decided to recommend the new teacher to tell his pupils that twice two makes seven, a result nearer to the truth.

"The children will thus be brought gradually towards the real result," the headmaster told the teachers' meeting. And in accordance with this proposal it was decided that after a while the children should be given a result even nearer to the truth: twice two makes six.

The results of this method could not easily have been foreseen. The pupils reacted in different ways to this flood of numbers. There were those who simply wrote the solution of the moment in their exercise books, and continued to think of licorice all-sorts and football.

Some pupils became internally rebellious, but did not protest publicly.

Another group got together, and asked the teacher for an explanation at the end of the class, but were put off with an excuse.

A small proportion of the pupils stuck to the first solution, twice two makes nine, since they were too lazy to keep on doing the same sums over and over again.

Lavoro, Rome

The well-behaved children enthusiastically wrote the latest result down with great pleasure.

The badly-behaved children covered the lavatory walls with shocking scribbles such as "Twice two makes four."

The careerists, looking ahead, shouted loudly in the corridors, so that the headmaster could hear, twice two makes three, or even one.

But nobody in the whole class had the slightest doubt that twice two makes four, since even the smallest child could count it off on his little fingers.

(This satire was originally published in the Polish weekly "Szpilki" *and was re-printed last November in the East Berlin weekly* "Eulenspiegel.")

Anna Louise Strong

TODAY

The Hungarian tragedy

The Shock

THE SIGHT of Soviet troops shooting up a sister socialist state shocks the world. Old friends of the U.S.S.R. are disturbed. Communists have left the party in large numbers in the West. Doubtless the Russians would like to run away from themselves too; they are human and have consciences. But WE ARE ALL STUCK with the situation. There is no cheap, easy way out. This evil is rooted in centuries and will not vanish in a day. So now is no time to run away from any ideas that ever seemed valid. It is time for agonizing reappraisal. A nation tries socialism 11 years and then seems not to want it. **What** failed? **Where** do we go from here?

Any way you take it, this is tragedy. For Hungary, for Russia, for the world. But let us not exaggerate. It is nonsense to call it, as one writer did, the "worst suppression in history". It hardly even qualifies as the worst in the week. All down the ages big powers have stepped on little ones. Britain smashed the post-war majority in Greece in just the same way. America's blasting of Korean life was bloodier.

Each brutal act of Russians in Hungary was matched by British acts in Egypt **in the same days.** Refugees fleeing to Austria were matched by 65,000 refugees from Port Said alone whom the GUARDIAN's Tabitha Petran saw in just one camp. Both Russians and British shot fleeing refugees; both at first refused to admit the Red Cross. If Russia kidnaped Premier Nagy, the French kidnaped the whole group of Algerian leaders—by the same technique of safe-conduct given by one man and seizure made by another.

The only way Britain and France behaved better was that they yielded to the UN at last when it was backed by American economic and Russian military threat. That's a little progress, but not much.

In some ways the British case was worse than Russia's. Anglo-French arms smashed a country whose elected government was in working order and where NOBODY—but NOBODY—asked them in. Russian troops were in Hungary by treaty which charged them "to prevent the return of Nazi-fascism". Hungarian ministers in peril of their lives asked them to intervene. Two out of three premiers who tried to run the country asked Russian help. If Janos Kadar is ignored as a puppet, Hegedus, who first called in the Russians, was properly installed. The in-between Premier Nagy, who told the Russians to get out, had hardly better right to rule than Kadar. He was put in to satisfy rebels who wouldn't "satisfy."

So the tragedy is not that Russians are unique aggressors but that all of us aggress on occasion and, unless we stop it, in this day of H-Bombs, we shall not survive. The tragedy for Hungary is not the "loss of freedom" (most Hungarians never had it): it is that NOBODY could run the country without killing the opposition. The tragedy for the Soviet bloc is that it has lost standing as peace-promoter.

The special tragedy for socialists is that we thought socialism a kind of guarantee against warfare. Now we learn that NO SYSTEM guarantees against either stupidity or sin or man's greed for power.

* * *

East Europe

For our own survival, we must try to understand what happened. We begin with geography. Eight states in East Europe are lumped by the West as "Soviet satellites" and by Moscow as "People's Democracies." DON'T LUMP THEM. They are different and have fought each other long. Three of them—Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia—have ancient love for "Mother Russia," which freed them from the Turks a century ago and shares their Orthodox religion. A fourth, the Czechs, is a westernized Slav people chronically bothered by Germans and finding in Moscow a natural friend.

A fifth, the Poles, are Slavs who fought Moscow for centuries, both over religion (Poles are Roman Catholic) and for leadership of the Slavs. But Poles were so badly battered by Hitler that any liberator, even Russia, looked good. Then Stalin cleverly gave them German lands with coal mines, industries and ports; this made Poland the soundest state in East Europe. Poles will squabble with Russians and insult them, but won't break with them. For NOBODY ELSE will help them keep those lands.

STREET SCENE IN BUDAPEST IN LATE OCTOBER
"Who identified the victims for us?"

* * *

Turn to Hungary

This leaves East Germany and Hungary, nations **long hostile to Russia,** who fought her in the recent war. We turn to Hungary. A bit smaller than Pennsylvania, with just under 10,000,000 people, Hungary lies in the heart of East Europe, with Yugoslavs to the south, Czechs to the north, Rumanians to the east, Austrians to the west, and the U.S.S.R. on a short northeast border. It is KEYSTONE of the East European arch; if it falls, the arch breaks, letting a hostile West into East Europe.

Hungary was an imperialist power before World War I, partner in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the most feudal part, ruling over many Slav peoples. After that war, Woodrow Wilson's best geographers took hunks of territory from Hungary to build up Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia. Hungarian nationalists turned fascist and joined Hitler and took those territories back. Hungary was the jumping-off place for Hitler's invasion of Yugoslavia, and was especially brutal to the Yugoslavs. When the Russians drove out Hitler, the territory reverted to the other nations.

The point is, when Hungary gets "free and sovereign" she carves up her neighbors. The second point is, when most of East Europe felt "liberated" by the Russians, Hungarians just felt "conquered." And were.

* * *

Stalin Wasn't Dulles

I doubt whether Stalin could ever have won Hungary's friendship. He doesn't seem to have tried. He took lands away to return to other nations; he took reparations, for Hungary had looted Russia. All this was fair in war but not very good in love. Hungarian Communists got power and started what they called socialism. It seems to have been grim. The peasants, who were among Europe's poorest, did get land and schools, and shoes and public health and were without doubt better off than before. But collectivization was pushed too hard. Somebody blundered there. I think it was Rakosi, Hungarian Communist boss. He bragged to me in 1947 about his collectives. I doubt whether Stalin paid them attention; Hungary wasn't his first concern.

But SOMEBODY should have known that socialism could manage without quick collectives but not without the peasants' love. Somebody should have **worked** on that; for Hungary was a keystone state.

Allen Dulles, whose job is called "intelligence," was probably working. He surely knew Hungary's importance and hostility to Russia. When he got that first hundred million for "subversion" in East Europe, he doubtless spent plenty in Hungary. Last spring Hungary opened to him in a big way. The Communists' new "liberalism" led them to "open the frontiers." Some 50,000 Hungarian exiles came back from West Germany, mostly the old Nazi crowd . . . Just natural "agents" with 11 years of contacts in Germany and the West.

They didn't **start** the revolt. But they seem to have mixed in as provocateurs at the proper moments. Who were those "unidentified elements on rooftops firing into the crowd" that started the shooting? Who blew up the uranium mines? Who organized strong-arm squads to kill Communists? These are acts right out of the text book for Operation X.

* * *

Revolt

Revolt began in a simple demonstration in support of the Poles. Students and workers marched, demanding the return of Imre Nagy, a "moderate Communist," as Premier, that Russian troops leave and the security police be disbanded. They came to the Budapest Radio, demanded the right to broadcast. Some were arrested, others rioted. The government panicked and asked Russian troops, by treaty in Hungary, to help "restore order."

"THAT was the fatal error," says Tito post facto. Perhaps Moscow also thinks so, with hindsight. But at the time Washington said that if Italy asked our NATO troops to suppress a Communist revolt, they would probably do it (N.Y. **Times**). And Washington "power vacuum" policy in the Middle East underscores this attitude.

On Wednesday, Oct. 24, 80,000 Russian troops with 80 tanks entered Budapest. They were embarrassed; they fraternized with the demonstrators, telling them they didn't want to shoot. Meantime Imre Nagy, overnight made Premier, was telling folks by radio to quiet down.

NOBODY KNOWS WHO STARTED THE SHOOTING. The first N. Y. **Times** account said "unidentified elements on rooftops fired into the crowd." Later accounts say the security police shot by mistake and the Russian tanks thought they were attacked. Suddenly Parliament Square was littered with Hungarian bodies. Hungary naturally went wild.

* * *

10 Days That Failed

From Oct. 25 to Nov. 3 both Nagy and the Russians tried to placate the rebels. Nagy pleaded: "You have won; stop fighting." But the fighting went on. Geroe, unpopular party chief who had called in the Russians, was replaced by Janos Kadar, popular as a "Titoist" who had been jailed and tortured under a previous regime. Nagy changed the cabinet almost daily, adding conservatives till there were eight anti-Communists to four Communists. All the ministers spoke by radio, promising all that the rebels asked. But fighting kept right on.

Hard-boiled new leaders had appeared, recognizing nobody. They had guns, truck convoys, supply depots, even "Freedom Stations" to broadcast appeals. A UP reporter asked a "rebel colonel" where they got so many guns. The colonel said shortly, "We had them." Preparation had clearly been going on for a long time, said the reporter.

On Monday, Oct. 29, Nagy asked the Russian troops to leave Budapest. On Tuesday they withdrew. On Wednesday Moscow broadcast an apology, rare in the actions of nations, "deeply regretting" the bloodshed, admitting that the U.S.S.R. "had been guilty of excessive economic domination," offering to withdraw Soviet advisers from any nation that did not want them, and "to negotiate troop withdrawal" with East Europe as a whole. Eisenhower seemed tremendously impressed by the Soviet apology; he called it "a great stride . . . towards understanding between nations."

But on Thursday Nagy unilaterally denounced the Warsaw Pact and called on the Big Four through the United Nations for "protection"—as clear a demand for American intervention as South Korea ever gave. The Russian troops turned back; they took up positions at the airports, "as if," said one reporter, "to prevent reinforcements from the West." On Sunday at dawn they stormed Budapest. Kadar made proclamation as new premier. Imre Nagy was in flight.

For the sudden change in Russian action there appear two reasons:

1. The Nagy regime, unable to restore order, was yielding, with or without intent, to a fascist set-up that slaughtered Communists.

2. Britain and France took off that Wednesday night from Cyprus against Egypt; that Saturday they refused the UN demand for "cease fire." Moscow seems to have feared that World War III was starting, with Hungary as the channel for direct attack. (WHO KNOWS, if the Russians had not held the airports, what might have occurred?)

* * *

Fascist Threat

Communists were being killed methodically all over Hungary; in some places it was "Communists and Jews." The Moscow press had columns of "atrocities"; our press had only a few. But our news-reels showed mobs hanging "security police" by the heels and kicking out their entrails. Who identified the victims for us? Kadar says that gangs of 20 armed men went from village to village, dragged from their homes and killed "thousands of the best sons of the Hungarian people."

A N.Y. **Times** dispatch Oct. 31 from Budapest said: "Nobody knows who now

(Continued on Page 7)

WRITTEN FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

'The Stalin Era': An evaluation

DR. EDITH BONE, who went to Hungary with a commission to write for London's **Daily Worker** and was jailed without trial in the East European witch-hunt, returned recently after seven years in a cell and, in Lord Beaverbrook's **Daily Express**, bitterly repudiated her political past. There was none found on the Left to throw a stone at one so foully wronged; but it occurred to me how lucky Anna Louise Strong was that, when arrested as a "spy", she suffered no more at the hands of the U.S.S.R. than denunciation, expulsion and the near-ruin of her meaningful life. Nevertheless, had Dr. Bone's fate been hers—as it well might have been—I am persuaded that she would still have written **The Stalin Era*** much as she has written it.

Miss Strong has seen almost from its beginning the Soviet peoples' struggle to build their socialist state, and shared their triumphs and their sufferings. "New people" were formed in that struggle and she herself was one of them. These people have developed a spiritual toughness, and an ability to project beyond themselves to a view from the heights of history, which are almost beyond the understanding of those who have not had this experience.

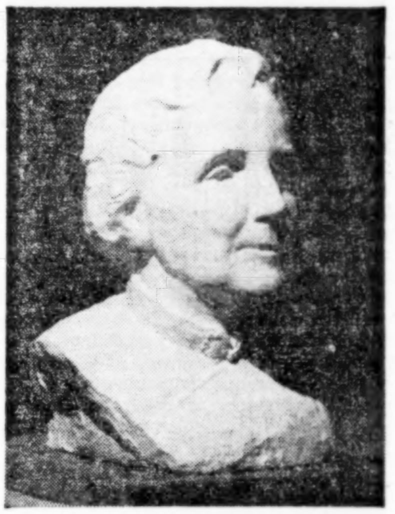
TOWARD THE LIGHT: Such people, interested in appraising the past only in order to do a better socialist job in the future, examine successes and errors as part of the same fabric so that the lessons may be clear. In this time of doubts and vacillations Miss Strong rises to remind the world how far it has moved from darkness into light in not much more than a generation. For her, blotted though the record is by terrible mistakes and crimes, the building of the first socialist state under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership cannot appear otherwise than as a proud saga of human liberation.

Personal experiences in the hard years after 1917 recall and underline for her Stalin's faith in the people and ability to inspire them, his genius for summing up a discussion and formulating collective decisions. She paints terse, vivid eyewitness pictures of the first five-year plan, the "rearing of giants" in Central Asia, the Urals and Siberia to transform a country that was "100 years behind." Of the "new people" who found expression in this creative epic she says that only in China has she ever seen so many dynamic individuals with such a consciousness of democratic participation.

GREAT MADNESS: These people accepted the necessity of a political police because they felt themselves to be at war with forces which would stop at nothing to destroy them. But then, in the very year of the Constitution, a charter of socialist democracy though never fully implemented, came "the great madness" when thousands of leading Communists were executed and "certainly many tens of thousands" vanished into convict camps.

The full explanation of this nightmare is still to be sought, but Miss Strong will not go along with the laying of all responsibility on Stalin, for the CP Central Committee approved of what was done. A good deal can be explained by the background of the Western invasion and devastation of Russia, the rise of Hitler with the "free world's" help and the very real epidemic of sabotage in the Thirties. In common with many other Westerners who attended it, Miss Strong was convinced by the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial and now says that if it and the Tukhachevsky trials were in fact genuine, it explains much of what followed.

The U.S.S.R. was gripped by a terrible sense of insecurity, and in such an atmosphere governmental insanity is not uncommon as we have seen more recently and nearer home. She thinks it likely that a Nazi fifth column had penetrated the political police, which to begin with carried over a brutal heritage from the old Tsarist police.



ANNA LOUISE STRONG
A portrait bust sculptured by Martha Oathout Ayers

COLD WAR BLAMED: Nor is Miss Strong impressed—as nobody I met in the U.S.S.R. last year was impressed—by Khrushchev's story of Stalin's "unpreparedness" when Hitler attacked in 1941. The government's conduct of affairs from Munich on she finds as admirable in its way as the second epic of the Soviet people, their victory over fascism rampant. As for the political-purge nightmare that continued in the war-devastated U.S.S.R. until Stalin's death, she reminds us of the meaning of Hiroshima and the U.S. "get tough" policy starting in 1945.

Noting the Soviet peoples' passionate desire for continued friendship with their war allies, she describes how "I saw that hope die in their faces." In its place, "the constant baiting of Russia by an America for whose friendship Russia had longed, bred an irritated, excessive patriotism." This attitude fostered anti-Semitism via the drive against "cosmopolitanism"; but with the second reconstruction of the land, the crusade for peace—for which the Soviet peoples had always shown a profound hunger—was resumed and intensified.

What is the verdict on Stalin, who once said that "leaders come and go—only the people are immortal"? History's answer, Miss Strong believes, is that "an epoch had ended; Stalin had to go with it . . . [He] predicted the future but could not have led it." The people, well aware of his faults as well as his virtues, mourned him but "knew their time had come to pass beyond him into a new age." Miss Strong doubts whether socialism could have been established in one country, and so enabled to spread over one-third of the world, under any of the other possible leaders who lacked the necessary "insight, guts and will."

UNION IN DIVERSITY: She sees the most dangerous part of Stalin's legacy as not being in the U.S.S.R. but in the East European countries, whose "equality" of relations with the socialist giant has been proclaimed but still not "defined in a socialist sense." This problem Stalin failed to solve; Khrushchev has "for the moment made it worse" and "released all the separatist tendencies in Eastern Europe." The "forms of that union in diversity are still to be devised." Who will devise them? "It might be a Chinese. . ."

The calm, modest but confident appraisal of "Stalinism" and the recent East European revolts, published this month in the Peking **People's Daily**, suggests that it well might. Looking, like Miss Strong, at both the successes and failures of the first proletarian dictatorship, the Chinese paper finds proof in its successes that the right basic road to socialism was taken—although it is a road down which every other country must find its own way.

Stalin's later "isolation from the masses and the collective," his "blind faith in personal wisdom and authority" and "great-nation" line toward brother countries and parties only show that it is one thing to have the right system and another "to make the right use of it." Countries now building socialism have the Soviet experience to learn from, but the U.S.S.R. sailed an uncharted sea with no such compass. For progressives to talk of the evils of "Stalinism" as if there were nothing else is merely to let Dulles & Co. lead them by the hand away from the right road.

SEEN FROM CHINA: The Chinese are "amazed" by this sort of talk in Yugoslavia, and find no reflection of it in the Polish attitude. They admit that the U.S.S.R. has long had the conditions for greater democracy, a better legal system and more popular control of state organs, but see these things being belatedly introduced although it can't be done overnight.

They are careful to point to their own great errors of the past and to some "great-nation chauvinist tendencies" which now have to be fought in China; and they ask dissatisfied people in East European countries to consider "how would the imperialists treat their country and people if the Soviet Union did not exist?"

Summing up, they find that the failures of the socialist revolution have been "insignificant" compared with those of past revolutions, and that the socialist system—in contrast with the imperialist, whose contradictions continue and multiply—has an "unparallelled vitality" and "no force can stop it."

I think Miss Strong will be as heartened by this Chinese evaluation as I have been by **The Stalin Era.** It feels good to have people like her around, who use their experience not for fueling bootless emotion but for the acquisition of wisdom.

—Cedric Belfrage

*THE STALIN ERA, *by Anna Louise Strong. Today's Press, PO Box 87, Altadena, Calif. 128 pp., cloth $2.25, paper $1. Dollar edition also available through Guardian Buying Service, 197 E. 4th St., N.Y.C. 9.*

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Today: Hungary

(Continued from Page 6)

rules Hungary" . . . and added that the Communists were "in a state of terror."

Cardinal Mindszenty's acts mirror the changes for those who understand. A medieval-style prelate, jailed some years ago for "conspiracy" against the land reform and the secular schools, he was released by the rebels and at once proposed for the cabinet, then for the premiership and then in an interview, he disdained the premiership, saying: **"I am prince primate."** He was, he meant, **above the secular power,** the authority to whom premiers came for sanction. He added that there would be a Catholic Party, and it would be "in the cabinet."

CATHOLIC POWER in Hungary might next claim those Catholic areas of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia which Hungary once ruled. A VATICAN PLAN for East Europe was emerging, with a clerical-fascist Hungary as base.

No wonder that Tito of Yugoslavia and Gomulka of Poland, despite their abhorrence of Russian armed intervention, condoned that second entrance into Budapest. "There were alternatives," said Tito—"either chaos, civil war—and new world war . . . or, intervention by Soviet troops."

* * *

To Sum Up

The Hungarian tragedy grew from old enmities, inflamed by Communist stupidities and American agents' plots. Moscow bears heavy blame, not for the final intervention but for 11 years of bad policies which in the end made intervention necessary. **Moscow owes Hungary amends.**

But Hungary also owes amends to East Europe. The decades in which she suppressed Slav peoples, the years in which she spread fascism and war, make her demand for "sovereignty" suspect in her neighbors' eyes. "Sovereignty" is a fine word, and "freedom" a finer, but neither are absolute. Hungary owes to herself and to East Europe a "freedom" that does not include lynching, and a "sovereignty" that does not carve up neighbors.

For no nation today is sovereignty absolute. No nation of Hungary's size can even survive alone. Hungary must either SHARE SOVEREIGNTY AND BUILD FREEDOM in a socialist bloc of East European states, or become the tool for penetration of East Europe by the West. When this is understood, the nature of the choice, and the reaction of the neighbors to it, becomes clear.

There is NO QUICK SOLUTION. "Withdraw Russian troops"? Yes, but by a general East European agreement that protects minorities from slaughter. "Substitute East European troops—Poles, etc.—for Russians"? It's a bright Polish idea that might some day work.

The only sound solution is that Moscow, together with East Europe, work out forms of a socialist unity-in-diversity that reconciles the need of Poles and Hungarians for freedom with their equal need for union in a socialist bloc that is strong to help. Moscow's new treaty with Poland is a first step in that direction. The process must go on.

* * *

Socialism Not End

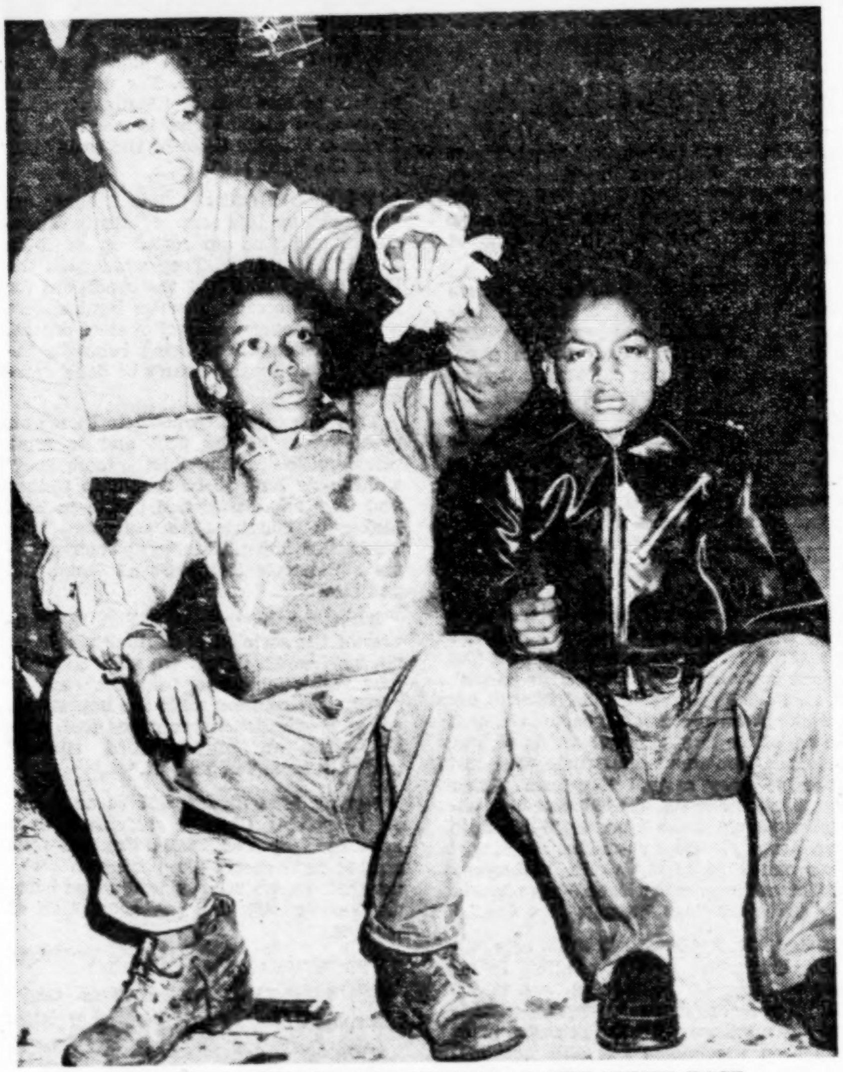
We who have seen socialism as the end to men's problems must also make amends. We must cease to cheer it as man's end, and study it more carefully as man's tool, suitable for some aims, not yet proved for others. We must note that sin, stupidity and greed for power survive; that bureaucrats can oppress no less than capitalists; that eternal vigilance is the price of progress as well as liberty.

The Hungarian tragedy destroyed socialism as "man's dream." But it is still man's tool for a third of the earth's people. If we of the West can keep our spies, provocateurs and H-Bombs off them, they will remodel it to whatever ends men desire.

That is what we owe to the dead in Hungary . . . that they may not have died in vain.

* * *

Reprints of this article may be obtained, 30 cents a dozen, by writing to Miss Strong. Box 87, Altadena, Calif.



TO PROVE THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF THE WHITE RACE. . . . *. . . dynamite was used on New Year's Eve to smash the home of Mrs. Otis Flowers in a predominantly white neighborhood of Birmingham, Ala. Above, she holds up the hand of her son Arthur, 12, injured in the bombing. At right is son John, 10.*

DuBOIS URGES CELEBRATIONS

Negro history centenaries

I AM VENTURING to write several leading men and organizations within the Negro race to remind them that the year 1957 will usher in a series of centenaries which deeply affect the history of the Negro race and of this country. May I point out a few:

1957: One hundredth anniversary of the Dred Scott decision.

1959: One hundredth anniversary of the death of John Brown.

1963: One hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

1961 to 1965: One hundredth anniversary of the participation of American Negroes in the Civil War.

1968: One hundredth anniversary of the death of Thaddeus Stevens, of the enfranchisement of the Freedmen, and of the Feedmen's Bureau.

1972: One hundredth anniversary of the birth of Paul Laurence Dunbar.

1976: One hundredth anniversary of the Bargain of 1876.

There are many other significant anniversaries which recall Negro history and the cultural tie of the black man with American history. If we neglect to mark this history, it may be distorted or forgotten. Already repeated efforts are being made to prove that slavery was not the cause of the Civil War; to minimize the part of Negroes in the slavery controversy and the war; to slander friends of the Negro, and to represent his enfranchisement as a serious mistake.

It would be wrong to make these celebrations occasions for controversies or exacerbation of race hate. Rather they should be occasions for calm and scientific inquiry into the past, participated in by persons of authority, white and black, Northern and Southern. We must only be sure that every point of view has adequate and worthy representation.

I suggest that these celebrations be varied in character and place and in sponsorship; we have only to be sure that no important event or person is forgotten in these centenaries of the first participation of the Negro masses as free citizens in the civilization of the United States. Colleges might celebrate jointly or singly the birthdays of distinguished men; newspapers might issue special editions to recall great events; organizations might hold special meetings or alert their branches and fraternities might offer prizes for essays or even books on certain subjects.

W. E. B. DuBOIS

THE TUSKEGEE FINDINGS

Report cites 1956 progress in desegregation in South

THE YEAR 1956 closed on acts of violence against American Negroes peaceably seeking their democratic rights. But the year ended also with "marked evidence" that Negroes of the Deep South had acquired "a heightened self respect" to match the "dignity and forbearance" of many white neighbors. Such whites, "despite their lack of enthusiasm for non-segregation," obey U.S. Supreme Court decrees outlawing jimcrow.

This is the conclusion found in **Race Relations in the South—1956**, a 14-page study which Alabama's Tuskegee Institute released on New Year's Day. The booklet is an analysis of Negroes' overall fight for integration in the year just ended. This 43rd annual report by the Negro "normal and industrial" school had, until 1954, listed lynchings as its yardstick of Southern Negro-white relations. When Dr. L. H. Foster succeeded Dr. F. D. Patterson as Tuskegee president he shifted the emphasis.

SOMETIMES IMPRESSIVE: The report said that in the period 1952-56 total Negro voting registration rose from 210,182 to 1,118,786 in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, N. Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Implying a close relationship between voting and integration, the report said that more than 200 school districts were desegregated last year in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, W. Virginia, Oklahoma, Texas and Tennessee. It added:

"Implementation of the non-segregation principle of law has in some instances been impressive. At the same time, in other quarters, rejection of the principle, defiance of Federal authority, and criticism of the Supreme Court . . . have sometimes been awesome."

Under the headings "Compliance and Noncompliance," the report included the following:

Education

Compliance—Louisville's voluntary integration of public schools was "notable". School boards in Anderson County, Tenn., where Clinton is located, upheld integration; the Federal Court supported integration in Hoxie, Ark., schools, but in Dallas, Tex., said that schools need not integrate immediately.

Noncompliance—Harlem Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's amendment denying aid to school districts refusing to desegregate was blamed for Congress' defeat of the Federal aid-to-education bill. Legislatures in nine states adopted "various plans . . . to perpetuate segregation in the public school systems." School boards in Chattanooga, Tenn., Prince Edward County, Va., Hopkins County, Ky., and Prince George County, Md., were "prominent" in announcing continued jimcrow or "restricted integration plans."

Employment

Compliance—The President's Committees on Government Contracts and Government Employment Policy were credited by the report with effective action against employment discrimination.

Noncompliance—Dublin, Ga., "passed an ordinance relating to [union] organizers which required a segregation loyalty oath, more than five years' residence, and a fee of $2,500."

Recreation

Compliance—Recreational facilities in Nashville, Tenn., Pensacola, Fla., and Portsmouth, Va., were ordered by Federal courts to be opened to Negroes.

Noncompliance — Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, S. Carolina and Virginia made it a crime for Negroes and white persons to use the same recreational facilities and to mix in athletic events.

Registration, Voting

Compliance—"Despite the barriers encountered," Negro voter registration increased.

Noncompliance—The report gave Macon County, where Tuskegee is located, as an example of a breakdown in voting machinery when Negroes applied. It mentioned other cases in Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and N. Carolina and recalled that "some qualified Negro voters were reported illegally purged from election rolls" in those states.

Groups and Organizations

Compliance—The NAACP, the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference Welfare Fund were cited as organizations which strove to obey the law of the land. The Montgomery Improvement Assn., organized to conduct the anti-jimcrow bus protest, was "spectacular in their use of passive resistance to speed desegregation in transportation."

Noncompliance—"The Ku Klux Klan became active in some communities and engaged in public demonstrations and cross burning." The Governors of Kentucky and Tennessee ordered state troops to quell mob action "where desegregation of schools" was opposed by mobs.

Transportation

Compliance—An Interstate Commerce Commission order against jimcrow in interstate travel became effective on Jan. 10, 1956. The Supreme Court on Nov. 13 ruled jimcrow buses in Montgomery unconstitutional.

Noncompliance — Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana proposed and passed bills to maintain segregation on common carriers, in waiting rooms and in other facilities. Montgomery and Tallahassee anti-jimcrow fighters faced state and local legal action.

Desegregation activities during 1956, the Tuskegee report said, "were generally orderly, which was a most encouraging expression of the vitality of American democracy."

DISSENT: The N. Y. **Amsterdam News** (1/5) agreed that "we have not had as many lynchings in the South [in 1956] as we have had in some previous years." But absence of lynchings should not blind Americans to "the bombings, kidnappings, shotgun attacks, mob attacks and brutal beatings" suffered last year by Negroes in the South.

The paper recalled that "Nat King Cole was beaten on the stage in Birmingham [and] Autherine Lucy was chased off Alabama University's campus by a mob." It added: "All these facts of violence have been reported in the daily and weekly press and oddly enough the majority of them happened in Alabama, a few miles from Tuskegee Institute."

To the Guardian

At the big San Francisco meeting Dec. 14 at which the GUARDIAN's Tabitha Petran and James Aronson appeared, Vincent Hallinan and author Albert E. Kahn also spoke. For the occasion (actually for the GUARDIAN's eighth anniversary) Kahn wrote a sonnet which he read that evening. With a faint blush of modesty, we print the sonnet below.

There is a wonder in the written word
No chemistry has cunning to enthrall,
Which unchains time, and makes its silence heard
So thunderously that myths and empires fall.
There is a treason in the written word,
Which seals up truth within a graveyard wall,
Festers the air, and turns plowshares to swords.
The symbols are the same. The use is all.
Your choice has had the likeness of a star
Forcing a dark and stormy night apart.
Across the plundered land your plantings are
Seeds of bright flowers in the troubled heart.
Your name fits well. You guard what men hold dear,
Present and past, and bring the future near.

—Albert E. Kahn

Ike's blank check

(Continued from Page 1)

that the U.S. has not suddenly turned pacifist.' "

FOREIGN AID BILL: With virtually no one outside the U.S. harboring illusions about U.S. "pacifism," there could be little doubt as to just who was being assured.

In Washington, there was a tendency to link the proclamation at this time to the Administration's foreign aid bill. It is, said the N.Y. **Times** (1/6), "just what the Administration needed to get its foreign aid bill through Congress."

But if this was the President's aim, his success did not seem so easily assured. Last year the President asked for $4.9 billion for foreign aid but Congress voted only $3.8 billion—and that reluctantly. Congressional and public opposition to foreign aid has grown since and was recently spurred by a **Readers Digest** article showing how taxes could be cut if such aid were abolished. Powerful Senate conservatives of both parties were reported strongly opposed to the President's request for powers to employ funds for military and economic aid "without regard to existing limitations." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (1/6) found "every indication that the economic aspects of the resolution would be dealt with harshly and probably modified before it is adopted by the Senate."

RECORD IN ASIA: The economic aid provisions of the "doctrine" were, in any case, vague. The President asked Congress only for greater flexibility in using existing funds for the Middle East and for authorization for "discretionary use in the area" of $200 million in each of the fiscal years 1957 and 1958. Although there was much grandiose talk of regional development plans, embracing transport, communications, irrigation, etc., all reports agreed that no decision has been made on how the U.S. will "aid" the Middle East.

The record of the "Free Asia" aid program, inaugurated under similar "crisis" conditions two years ago, does not augur well for Middle East aid. (Out of $200 million authorized by Congress for the Asia program 1955-58, and $100 million actually appropriated, only $8 million has been spent.) Even if the entire sum requested were actually spent, it would be "pure fantasy," as Doris Fleeson commented (N.Y. **Post**, 1/3), "to present the President's limited proposals as a serious means of raising significantly the living standards of the average Arab."

The military emphasis of the "Eisenhower doctrine" almost wholly overshadowed its economic side. The military context in which economic aid will be offered, if at all, not only makes the help meaningless from the point of view of economic development but almost certainly unacceptable to such governments as Syria and Egypt and perhaps others.

ISOLATION POLICY: The Manchester **Guardian Weekly** (1/3) put the U.S. objective in this regard delicately: "It intends to use its influence with President Nasser, in the context of the new security guarantees, to win him, if possible, to more moderate policies." The N.Y. **World-Telegram** (1/6) was more blunt: it said the plan "is designed to isolate Egypt and Syria so long as they permit Soviet infiltration . . . [this isolation] might cause them to change their ways. If not, at least, they would be surrounded by nations friendly to and bolstered by the U.S."

The Administration did not even bother to pretend that its "doctrine" would meet the real problems of the area or that there was any danger of Soviet "armed aggression." Its own explanations made clear that its fears of "indirect aggression" are fears of growing Arab nationalism and independence. The extent of Soviet influence in Syria and Egypt has been "grossly exaggerated" both "by the British, French and Israelis to cover their own bloopers," as the N.Y. **World-Telegram** admitted (1/4), and also by the U.S.

Hence the President was essentially restating U.S. determination, even at the price of war, to hold the oil-rich Middle East within the domain of imperialism (while progressively elbowing out French and British interests). This determination has been vigorously and successfully implemented throughout the post-war decade. Its restatement serves notice (1) on Middle East governments that the U.S. intends to pursue there—now that British and French influence is virtually eliminated—a more aggressive policy; and (2) on the U.S.S.R. that the cold war is to be waged with new vigor in that part of the world.

DO SOMETHING: The "doctrine" emerges, therefore, not as a "new" policy but simply as a more aggressive stage of an old one. Washington, in short, was "doing what comes naturally": for want of policies to cope with the real problems, it has again, as so often in the past, whipped up a new "doctrine" and military commitment—thereby compounding the problems. Or, as Stewart Alsop put it (1/2), it was following the old military maxim: "If you don't know what to do, do something," because anything is better than nothing.

The move came on the heels of some high-level questioning of U.S. policy. In the last year the hard-and-fast alignments of the first post-war decade had begun to dissolve. Under the impact of these events, U.S. positions too had lost a little of their rigidity. All through the Administration at present there appear to be divisions—not fundamental, but sometimes significant—over what should be U.S. reaction to the changing world situation.

HUNGARY AND ARMS: In the case of Hungary, for example, the U.S.'s UN delegation played the situation to the hilt with all the Madison Avenue props. But the State Dept. and Secy. Dulles—once the U.S.S.R. had made clear it would not stand idly by—displayed a caution the more remarkable since the events in Hungary represented the near-triumph of their decade-old policy of trying to overthrow Eastern European governments. This caution was bred of the atomic stalemate (Soviet possession of the H-bomb) and recognition that the U.S. could not lead a united allied front into a major war.

Similarly, divisions are apparent over disarmament. The "new approach" leaked to the press by White House assistant Harold Stassen last month suggested two things: (1) that the U.S. had abandoned its former insistence on inspection-in-place before any disarmament, and on the "open skies" plan; (2) that it might soften its opposition to suspension of H-bomb tests.

But there has been no follow up to this trial balloon. Reports that Stassen has conferred with the Soviet UN delegation are true but, according to UN sources, "nothing substantial" was discussed and no new U.S. approaches have been advanced. The President's curt letter to Soviet Premier Bulganin, rejecting his proposal for a big power disarmament conference, was not encouraging. But the UN still hoped the U.S. would bring a new approach to the coming UN debate on disarmament.

A STALEMATE: The U.S.'s more aggressive approach in the Middle East appears to put an end to recent questioning of the rigid military character of U.S. policy. But the contradictions the U.S. faces in the Middle East are great, and they are likely to be intensified once the fanfare over the new "doctrine" dies down. As Walter Lippmann pointed out (1/3), "the very best we can now hope for in the Middle East is that the Arab countries will remain unaligned and in a middle position." Such a position "best reflects the realities of the military situation in the Middle East"—a U.S.-U.S.S.R. stalemate which prevents overt intervention by either power.

In Lippmann's view stabilization can only come through negotiations with the U.S.S.R. for neutralization of the Middle East. In the transition period through which the world is now passing, such a U.S. policy could conceivably be achieved if public opinion were to demand it. In the absence of such a demand, U.S. aggressiveness in the Middle East carries substantial risks.

Congress story

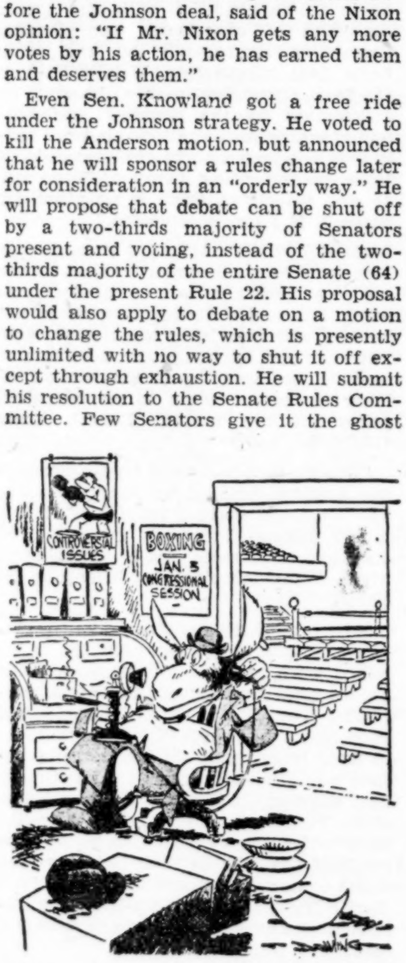
(Continued from Page 1)

best under the Johnson deal. It permitted Nixon to express an opinion, neither binding nor subject to debate, that a majority of the Senate has the Constitutional right to change Senate rules at any time. This notion is hotly contested by Dixiecrats, who insist that the Senate is a continuing body and its rules carry over from one session to the next. On this, Nixon said:

"Any provision of the Senate rules adopted in a previous Congress which has the express or practical effect of denying the majority of the Senate in a new Congress the right to adopt the rules under which it desires to proceed is, in the opinion of the chair, unconstitutional."

1960 PREVIEW: It was generally agreed that this was a potent pitch for the Negro vote come 1960 when Mr. Nixon will put in his bid for the Presidential nomination. Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), who was loudest in denouncing filibusters before the Johnson deal, said of the Nixon opinion: "If Mr. Nixon gets any more votes by his action, he has earned them and deserves them."

Even Sen. Knowland got a free ride under the Johnson strategy. He voted to kill the Anderson motion, but announced that he will sponsor a rules change later for consideration in an "orderly way." He will propose that debate can be shut off by a two-thirds majority of Senators present and voting, instead of the two-thirds majority of the entire Senate (64) under the present Rule 22. His proposal would also apply to debate on a motion to change the rules, which is presently unlimited with no way to shut it off except through exhaustion. He will submit his resolution to the Senate Rules Committee. Few Senators give it the ghost of a chance to get out of there to the floor.



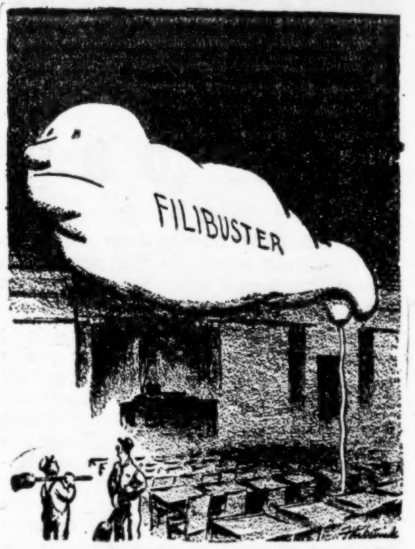
N. Y. Herald Tribune

Difficulty lining up a card

EARLY HOUSE ACTION: The Anderson coalition has announced that it is planning an early move to void the key section of Rule 22 which Nixon declared in his opinion to be unconstitutional but, as the **Times** reported, "in the estimation of most liberal Senators, the vote [on the original Anderson motion] dashed any real prospect for Senate action in the present Congress on strong civil rights legislation."

A "compromise" was also being talked about under which a filibuster could go on for 15 days under the present rule, but thereafter could be shut off by a simple majority vote.

In the House, liberal Representatives were planning to act early in the session on civil rights bills so that if a filibuster developed in the Senate there would be plenty of time to cope with it. But many thought this session of Congress would not get much beyond the Eisenhower watery civil rights "package" which passed the House last year but died in Senate committee. The President himself remained cautiously aloof from the rules change issue. His package, which is expected to be re-submitted this year, would set up a bipartisan commission to study civil rights problems, create a special civil rights division in the Dept. of Justice; permit the Attorney General to institute civil proceedings in civil rights cases; provide for Federal prosecution for intimidation of voters in an election for a Federal office; and allow individuals to take civil rights grievances direct to Federal courts.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Do you think they'll get rid of it, Bill?"

TEXAS IN THE SADDLE: On the whole, the 85th Congress differs little from the 84th, either in membership or leadership. Firm control of both houses remains in the hands of the two Texans, Johnson in the Senate and Speaker Sam Rayburn in the House. Democrats outnumber Republicans 233 to 200 in the House with two vacancies; the division in the Senate is exactly as in the 84th: 49 to 47.

Efforts of the Democratic National Committee to set up an advisory committee to inject some "militancy" into the party was still meeting with the stubborn opposition of Congressional leaders who traditionally resent any "outside" interference, even from their own party. Originally planned to consist of 20 members, including members of Congress, the advisory committee to date has eight members including Adlai Stevenson, Harry S. Truman and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Both Johnson and Rayburn refused to serve on it, although they attended a "harmony" breakfast meeting on Jan. 5. The advisory committee has adopted a 16-point program based on planks in the Party's 1956 platform and wants to press this in Congress, but Johnson has announced his opposition to an independent Democratic legislative program, prefering to deal with the Administration's proposals as they are received. This conflict was not resolved at the harmony breakfast.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS: The President gave a preview of his domestic program in a conference with GOP Congressional leaders on Dec. 31. It contains nothing new and consists mainly of business left unfinished by the 84th. He made it clear that the Administration remains opposed to any tax cuts for middle or low income groups. The headings of his proposals are almost identical with those of the Democrats; the variations in content aren't too great. Said Sen. Knowland after the conference: "There was agreement among the Congressional leaders that the President has a substantial program. We hope to achieve a substantial batting average for it in Congress."

The domestic bi-partisanship that prevailed in the 84th—with Democrats often giving the President stronger support than many Republicans—was expected to continue. The N.Y. **Times** reported that "the belief on Capitol Hill was widespread that the Republican executive and the Democratic-controlled legislature would move along, as before, in relative harmony."

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LABOR'S GETTING WORRIED

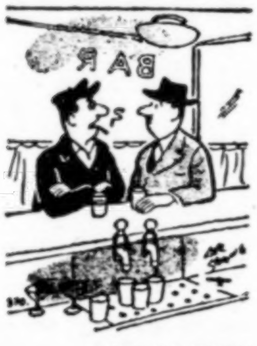
Will pace of automation rise to a gallop in '57?

By Elmer Bendiner

AS THE YEAR opened there were signs that 1957 might be the year when automation would cease to creep up on Americans and begin to gallop.

Already more things are being made at a far faster rate with far fewer people than ever before. The figures are hard to come by. The N.Y. **Times** complained a year ago: "There is no exchange of data on a regular basis. There is nothing but advance—so rapid as to stagger the imagination of those who study the new science of automatic controls." In the year since that was written the advance has been swiftly accelerated and the big machines that will make little machines to turn out the goods have yet to be installed though they are already off the drawing boards.

BIG TO GET BIGGER: For example, General Mills has a device to assemble machinery for the processing of goods which in a little more than a minute can put together more parts than a worker can in a day. Requiring only three men, it can piece together 200,000 assemblies a month.


Canadian Tribune, Toronto

"I've just been replaced by a machine so I figure I might as well get oiled, too!"

The machines for inspecting, grading, marking, classifying; the computers to replace thousands of clerks, estimators, inspectors are ready to go into offices and shops around the country. But before automation can properly come of age two other processes must be speeded up, economists point out. The big companies must merge into bigger companies and the little firms must be shaken out of the economy. This was how matters stood on those fronts at the year's end:

THE MERGERS: The N.Y. **Times** annual trade review reported on 1956: "Rarely a business day passed in which a score or more concerns did not announce plans to pool their resources." Though the government instituted anti-trust action to stop them, Bethlehem Steel and Youngstown Sheet & Tube were trying to merge, which would just about wipe out "Little Steel." Natl. Container Corp. was trying to merge with Owens-Illinois Glass Co., Continental Can with the Robert Gair Co., Inc.; Freuhauf Trailer Co. with a number of its competitors. Northrup Aircraft has already combined with Vertrol Aircraft; Thomas A. Edison Co. with McGraw Electric Co.

The government policy of making it difficult to obtain credit was forcing the little man to the wall. The **Times** reported: "The big companies, who account for most of the capital spending, were able to find ready financing. Smaller operators, however, definitely began to feel the pinch. In 1957, unless there is an unexpected reversal in the Government's policy, the squeeze will be even greater."

MACHINES VS. MEN: The effect on labor of the new automation was still spotty but the prospect of displacement by machinery haunted people everywhere. Though the nation's production boomed, unemployment was close to 2,500,000, almost 100,000 more than the previous year, and economists feared that even without any swift and drastic automation there would not be enough jobs to accommodate 800,000 new recruits to the labor force expected this year.

Workers over 45, until recently regarded as in prime condition with the proper seasoning of experience, were finding themselves increasingly on the scrap heap. Last month Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.), presiding over a hearing on automation by the Senate-House Economic subcommittee, shook his head sadly over the men who in 1940 entered defense plants: "Now many of them are 45 and older and there is no place for them. It is a pitiful situation."

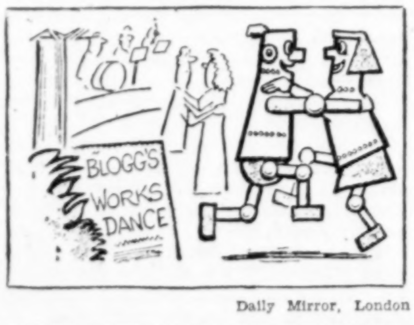
LABOR POLICY: AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany told the subcommittee that he was not pessimistic about an eventual adjustment, but said the transition would not be easy and that labor was not going to "sit back and let the future take care of itself." That was the closest the united labor movement came to an organized policy on the matter. **Labor's Daily** (12/25/56) warned:

"Labor's part will be to try to persuade management and government to make sure displaced workers are not left indefinitely jobless. This may be expensive, both to management and to government, which means labor's strength may be decisive."

Whether labor's fight would be for ampler pensions and social security or for public work projects was unclear. Some unions were working out their own programs. The United Auto Workers and Ford had a joint apprenticeship program to train technicians for the new age but that would scarcely affect the old-timers. Last summer the Brewery Workers Union at its 34th biennial convention predicted that in five years automation would wipe out half the jobs in their industry even if the economy continues to expand. Pres. Karl F. Feller, urging a six-hour day, 30-hour week and a guaranteed annual wage, said:

"The workers in industry are entitled to their fair share of the increased productivity which results from mechanization of industry and we intend to see that they obtain it."

GLOBAL DEADLINE: Industrial leaders have said soothingly that automation would come gradually and there would be no sudden shock. But there were signs that industry was racing against a deadline. In its commercial war to gain the markets and sources of raw materials in the colonial world it faced a competitor. Nations in search of machinery and manufactured goods might soon look elsewhere than to the U.S., not only to Germany which was busily intruding into underdeveloped countries, but more significantly to the Soviet Union.



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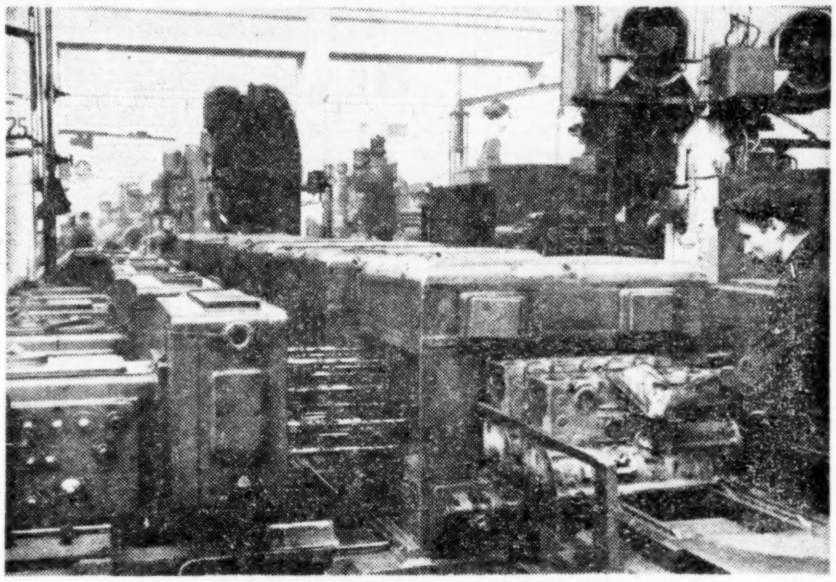
AUTOMATION UNDER SOCIALISM TOO

At the end of the rainbow Soviet workers, like these in an automated engine plant, expect a pot of gold, not a human scrap heap.

The deadline was given by the Ford Motor Co. Ford sent Nevin Bean, technical assistant to the general manager of its automatic transmission division, to Moscow in the summer of 1955 as part of a delegation to study Russian automation. In his report, published by the Ford Co., Bean wrote:

"Over all, the interest in automation appeared to be greater in Russia than it is in the United States. The Russians are no longer building manual production machines if automated lines can be made. If plans we saw are carried out, Russian factories will have the machinery and techniques to make giant production strides within the next five years. Within ten years, many of their production facilities will be comparable to ours, and within 15 years their production facilities and techniques may be superior to ours unless a new emphasis is placed on automated production designing in this country."

THE LONG VIEW: Automation takes more than technique and facilities. It requires supplies of steel, coal, a functioning transportation system and highly productive labor. On these points Bean quoted the London **Times** of last February when the U.S.S.R.'s five-year-plan of 1955-60 was launched:

"The sixth five-year-plan . . . comes at the close of a quarter of a century of planned economy, during which the Soviet Union was engaged in an industrial race with the nations of Western Europe. This race is now essentially concluded; and Russia has won it, at least in basic industry and engineering . . . With the launching of the present plan a new contest is opened. The Soviet Union now aspires to 'catch up with' the United States . . ."

While U.S. industrialists struggle to plan for automation while deftly cutting each other's throats or maneuvering to swallow their competitors, the Soviets can set up ministries to coordinate, experiment, perfect and install automation. Bean examined one such outfit, the Experimental Scientific Research Institute for Metal Cutting Machine Tools—abbreviated to ENIMS—which employs 475 engineers. It has its own plans, running 10-15 years, by which it hopes to replace manual production lines with automatic lines "throughout Russian industry wherever possible."

THE BRAIN: At the Institute of Precision Mechanics and Calculating Technology Bean saw a giant computer that has been functioning smoothly for three years. It can replace about 12,000 human calculators, work out 7-8,000 arithmetical processes a second. (An experienced hand at an ordinary adding machine can do about 2,000 a day.) It can translate into several languages and in 20 hours solve a problem containing 800 equations and involving 250,000,000 arithmetical processes.

Bean watched the operators of the machine leisurely playing chess, only now and then interrupting their game to do their work. One of the machine's supervisors was puzzled about future strategy in his chess game. He quickly fed the problem to the machine which promptly dictated the only logical move for him to make.

Bean saw the Russians gaining in another area of production: "At current graduation rates, within a few years the Soviets will have a much larger pool of trained engineers and technicians than we, and they can put them to work solving the riddles of industrial expansion. It is entirely possible that they can rather quickly narrow the gap between their capacity and ours. They already have men who know how to improve their productivity and they are training thousands more."

The Russians also have one other advantage: there seems to be no scrap heap at the end of their automation rainbow.

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DURING the month of January, all non-citizen residents and visitors over the age of 14 in the United States must notify the Attorney General of their address on special forms obtainable in every Post Office.

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New York

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Radical pacifists

THIS PACIFIST, for one, believes that pacifists and communists have much to learn from each other. Recent GUARDIAN publicity to (1) Thoreau, (2) the ideological basis of the Montgomery and Tallahassee actions, and (3) anti-war-tax picketer Ammon Hennacy, cheers me considerably. On the other hand, I have been advocating among my fellow pacifists, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," and the pacifist movement in general is slowly moving toward the view that the "intentional communities" with their complete economic sharing (and of course their interracialism) represent the embodiment of pacifism, and, with growth, will overthrow war. And we all know that with war would go capitalism, not only for economic reasons but also because war and capitalism are twin expressions of a philosophy of callousness—one in international relations, the other in economics. The opposite philosophy, that political and economic decisions should be based only on the good of humanity, is held in common by pacifists and communists.

FROM the latest **Peacemaker** (radical wing of pacifist movement) statement: "Peacemakers do not seek merely the elimination of war, even though this is absolutely essential if mankind is to survive. We seek the elimination of violence, coercion, exploitation, and injustice which inevitably lead to war. The economic and social systems based on private ownership of the means of production, and the accumulation of wealth, power, and prestige constitute a denial of the concept that mankind is one family. Either armed conflict or enslavement is the natural outcome of an economic and social order based on interest-collecting, rent-demanding, dividend-drawing, property-monopolizing, and other forms of exploitation of the weak by the economically strong. We deplore such exploitation whether or not it is protected by law . . . Just as strongly, we feel that economic and social injustice cannot be remedied by the coercive and violent methods of government (whether reactionary, revolutionary, or counterrevolutionary—RK) imposition. Peacemakers, therefore, seek to give to each person an equal voice in the decisions which affect his life and work.

"Because the means used in revolution live on in the result, and because no revolution is a genuine revolution which employs the very evils which it is seeking to expel, the only revolution which can meet even the standards of 'success' is one that is non-violent . . .

"In every society men are dependent on one another. Wherever people recognize this interdependence and begin to share goods, services, and economic responsibility with each other, a sense of community is born . . . Peacemakers . . . are better able to . . . carry the all-out pacifist testimony to the public if they are living communally . . . that form of community which enhances our call to peacemaking rather than toward any form which tends to insulate us from the tensions of the world . . . " (For the full statement write Lawrence Scott, 5615 S. Woodlawn, Chi. 37).

IT IS CLEAR, then, that pacifists and communists have learned, and have yet to learn, much from each other. The radical pacifists are pulling the others in the direction of communism not as it is thought of or practiced in the Soviet Union, but as the original revolutionists there conceived it ought to be practiced; which is, after all, not so very different from how the early Christians shared with one another: "all things common . . . " The only Christianity today, of course, is counter-revolutionary Christianity, which ignores or rationalizes the practices of the original Christians and the teachings of Jesus such as "**Love** one another . . . go the **second** mile . . . give me the **cloak also . . .** turn the **other** cheek" because war and these teachings cannot co-exist.

Briefly, what have communists to learn from pacifists? Just this: Direct action is by definition non-violent. You can kill and maim segregationists from today till tomorrow, but you do not have integration till you integrate yourselves. The evil is segregation, and direct action against that would be integration. The evil is **not** the segregationists, and action against them is only indirectly against segregation. The same applies to reaction of all types: war, fascism, injustices, etc. Action against such as segregationists is usually to prevent violence against yourself after integration. OK, so you have the violence **before** integration. What's the difference? With direct action, integration is an accomplished fact from the start, and if you can turn the other cheek and not back down, the reactionaries are helpless. In other words, if you want something, do it; don't just accept the status quo while making "unprovoked" attacks upon its enforcers.

Readers who wish to put communism into practice immediately and worry about opposition later rather than attacking the opposition now and worrying about communism later, should also contact me directly as I want to do the same thing. Even if there are only a half dozen of us, we can start, and demonstrate a more meaningful and abundant life to entice workers out of the capitalist system and into production for use instead of for sale and profit.

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Readers are invited to comment on Mr. Kern's ideas. Editor.